B Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

Whatever that may be, a sane admonition is now given to the erring by sensible parents and we understand that even married men are reproached by their parents or superiors if they indulge in adultery.

Santal women, in sexual matters, are the passive type found in the sex in general. If the term 'masochistic' can be applied to such a nature, they are undoubtedly so. We enquired to find out cases of women possessing a sadistic nature and gathered that instances of women beating men for economic reasons or domestic infidelity are not at all rare. But the witnesses stoutly maintained that such cases had nothing to do with the infliction of pain for the joy of it, and women as a sex do never take the lead in coitus or mastery in cohabitation.

But in married-life, should the husband be sexually unsatisfactory and fail habitually to satisfy the cravings of his wife for intercourse, the wife unfailingly sues for divorce and changes the husband for a more capable one. As one Santal puts it, "Failure to satisfy the sexual passion is the primary reason for divorces. Women can stand starvation in food as she can work and earn it, but if the husband fails to be a satisfactory partner in mating, she will leave him immediately."

The place of sex in the tribal life

Any one visiting a Santal rally at a dance or a festival, we dare say, will be struck with the

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 826 As regards the part played by the breasts in the mechanism of tumescence and intercourse, it was gathered that the men fondle the breasts as a preliminary to intercourse. This is the first tactile contact preceding coitus. Kissing the cheeks and not the lips is the custom, and even then, it does not form an indispensable approach to the consummation. And although, the posture adopted in coitus does not stimulate the breasts, these are squeezed with the hands as will be clear from the folk-song quoted already (Dèṛ dèṛ ko men hili ho), nor does it permit of kissing, as the man sits under the raised legs of the woman.

832 301 As for the sexual basis of ornaments worn by women, wrist-ornaments are most liked by men, perhaps because of the tinkling sounds they produce. Older men seemed to like the "kharua" worn in the legs of women. The hair plays no unimportant part. Men comb their hair regularly by rubbing *mohua* oil, and after intervals of a week, they wash them with *markan basa* (the soapy mud).

832 826 [302]

832 Whatever that may be, to women it is the man of health and vigour who counts. He must have wonderful virility and potency to have her favours. Should a man be physically charming and possess all the arts of winning attraction, as capacity to tell stories, witty talks, proficiency in singing and dan-

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

584 and about twenty percent result from love or capture.

593 The average Santal remains madly in love with his wife for about two years after the marriage, thereafter, his ardour cools. With children, the world of reality makes its existence felt.

584 [607] [603] Lead in courtship is also taken by the woman. In such cases she requisitions the services of her obliging sister-in-law or grandmother, who conveys the message of love. The woman does not send presents to win over the man of her choice. Further 833 enquiry regarding the point if lead in coitus is taken by women, revealed that sometimes it happens like that. But should such news leak out, it becomes [558] a subject for jokes and the husband is thought as a worthless fellow, but nothing particular is thought about the girl. The girl who forces her company 554 192 on men or belongs to many husbands is called a "dàri" by the Santals. The boy who likes the company of women rather too much is termed "Hiròm," and a flirt is called "Khilḍu". The licentious fellow, who cohabits with many women is censured as a "Caṇḍal."

152 834 We enquired to find out if the Santals are jealous by nature or not. It transpired that ordinarily the Santals do not suspect anything wrong if their women-folk talk or mix with other men on business or in course of social rounds. But human nature

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

836 his choice and marry any of them and not to go so
626 wildly about. Exactly, the same step is taken as regards the unmarried girl. They are not tried or punished, if they do not cross the limits of exogamy but should they do so, the laws, as we have seen, are severe.

837 Faithless partners are dealt in a way peculiar to
626 the Santal. Should the husband of a girl go wrong with unmarried girls or widows, he is taken to task by sensible parents or village-elders; the tribe takes no social notice of the wrong. But the case of a married woman going wrong with others is tried by the village-elders and should the offence be proved, she is divorced and fined.

•833 *The Quality of Love*

Some Santals told us that it is nothing unusual for a newly married couple to indulge in coitus for four times daily before the birth of children. Although with age, this diminishes, twice a day remains as the irreducible average for the Santals. Even in his sixtieth year, it is nothing abnormal for the Santal to enjoy sexual intercourse once a day and with a few this capacity does not leave them even at seventy. Regarding the duration of coitus, the majority opinion for twenty minutes to half-an-hour as the minimum average and individual abnormal claim for three hours (by counting time by the

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

movement of Venus), should better be left to 833 •
psycho-analysis.

Now the problem is, if the continual gratifica- 833
tion of the desires dulls the edge of passion and 152
transforms it into a lust. Is the sex-consciousness not impaired thus or does it remain generous, spontaneous and romantic? What we could gather from younger and middle-aged Santals seems to lead to the inference that the erotic life of the Santal is full of joy upto his fortieth year in the minimum and fiftieth in the maximum. Added to this love adventures, as in dances and jungles, give him the keenest delight.

Older Santals however, striking a different note, told us that joy in coitus remains till three children are born. Thereafter "they cannot shake the loins well". According to them abundant sexual energy comes at twenty years and it does not leave one, till one's thirty-fifth year. They agreed that those who commit lòtghòti (illicit sexual intercourse) receive extreme joy from their adventures. On the point [262]
of virility, they opined that those who can eat two seers of rice at a sitting are more capable in the sexual act. Ordinarily, Santals cannot afford more than half-a-seer of rice at a meal.

As regards the repercussions on the emotions of 152
the Santals should they be refused by girls when 832
sexually approached, we gathered that normally the

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 533 539 In the following song, we come across a girl almost mad in her youthful ardour for love, offering herself into the arms of a young man:

Kuṛi: Dare umul ho achuren dò,
Sakam binda hòn rohoṛen dò
Dese miluà aṛakaiñme.

Koṛa: Alo mairem ròṛ ase,
Alo mairem rak' ase.
Kuṛi koṛa laṅ ñapam àkan
Nanwan sagaṛ[1] pàṭi[2] leka laṅ
Thokao jalada.

(Translated)

Girl: The shade of the tree has moved away,
The sheaves of leaves have dried up.
Please leave me, leave me, O my lover!

Boy: O girl, don't say like that.
O girl, don't weep like that.

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[192] 1. Sagaṛ—"A solid cart-wheel, a cart having solid cart-wheels without iron tyres." Dr. Campbell.

[192] 2. Paṭi—"Each of the outside planks of the solid wheel of a Sagar." Dr. Campbell.

M Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (c'a. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

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(We) a boy and girl. We have united (in love).
(As) a new cart-wheel mingles into a single block,
By hammering and hammering, we shall be one (in consummation).
The thrill of the girl after her coitus, is thus expressed:

Kuṛi: Disom disom pirit babu ja
Pirit babu jaiñ tahèṅkan dò
Am leka do, babu ja banko dhaṅkuc'.

Koṛa: Disom disom miluà mairiñ tahèṅkan do.
Am leka do maire bako ṭaṇḍa.

(Translated)

Girl: In many places, I enjoyed coition, O my boy.
I cohabited in many places, O my boy.
Like you, O my boy, none could shake the loins (so well).

Boy: In many places, I enjoyed coition, O my girl,
Like you none could straddle so well.

Jungle-love has its repercussions and these have produced many folk-songs. In the following song,

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 a girl is explaining to her sister-in-law what happened
533 to her while out to pluck leaves:
539

Saru bir sakam hèc'ñ
Dukàn hili ho.
Hèndè sañsoṛ biñ do hili ho,
Biñ do hili hoc jòtèt' adiñ.
Jhaṛ tenhòn jhaṛni tenhòn
Biñ bis do anṛgona,
Dangua koṛa bis do hili ho
Chekate anṛgona.

(Translated)

In a jungle called Saru, out to pluck leaves,
I went (there), Oh, my sister-in-law!
A black serpent of the *Sansor* kind bit me,
O sister-in-law!
By charms and incantations (O my dear),
Men take away the poison of snakes.
How can one, O my sister-in-law!
Overcome the poison (injected) by an unmarried youth?

Most possibly, the girl in this case has become enceinte as a result of her escapade in the jungles.

833 In another song, the girl pleads that she was
839 forcibly taken by a lad and she herself was
533 innocent:
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Hatom hatomgoi ho ho kèdo
Bañe hatomgo añjom lèt'do.

S. Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

Ladeya bare latarte kubuñ kubuñgoi idikidiñdò, 833
Ladeya baru latarre picirrategoi derkidiñdo. 839
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(Translated)

O my aunt! O my aunt! I shouted aloud!
You did not hear my call (at all).
He placed me on his arms, bent me double (dear),
Took me where the banyan (tree) bends,
There where the Kusum (tree) bends,
He made me straddle my legs and coition had.

In the following song, a ravished girl is being scolded by her mother on seeing her condition:

A mayo dea dhuri ñèl tegem rak' utaret',
Samañ senem ñel lekhan cirerakap' cirangodo.
Bare bare biti mana ket'me ñiak' mana biti bam ajamlet',
Ni toda cet'ñ cekame.

(Translated)

Daughter: You have wept at the sight of the dust on my back
You have not (yet) seen the condition of my front, O mother!
It has been raptured both up and down.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 839 533 539

Mother: Times without number, I admonished you, O my daughter!
You did not care to listen to me, my dear,
What shall I do now?

We shall conclude this topic with a folk-song about a gang-rape. It so happens that when a girl is a confirmed flirt, she may rouse the passions of several youths for coitus with her. But as a matter of fact she may be simply playing with their hearts. Such a girl excites the revenge of the disappointed suitors and they combine together to rape the girl. Such cases are rare now, but that they occurred in the past cannot be doubted. In this song, a lad is requesting his sister-in-law to save him from the case of such a rape he had committed with others:

Koṛa: Mañjhiko chatkare cili hòṛkò durup' akan cet'do hili ko durbar kan?

Hili: Basè babu jam, bajhau akat' basè babu jam baḍae akak'
Manjhikoik' huḍiñ kuṛi feḍ bulukò rapur akade,
Pale babu ja namhòm mesage.

Koṛa: Namdò hilire nayoleka, dadaiñ hilire napuiñ leka,
Janhan leka abo oṛak' kuk'li hilikò heic' lenkhan,
Namdò hilire leiakome nale koṛado bagu-acmesadò.

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

(Translated)

Boy: In the headman's door from the court-yard to the village-lane,
Who are the men sitting there? What is the case being tried?

Sister-in-law: Don't you understand, O boy! don't you realise, O boy!
The Headman's young daughter's thigh has been sprained:
Did you, O boy! mix with them (who broke her thigh)?

Boy: O sister-in-law! you are like my mother,
My brother, I look upon as my father.
Should anybody come to our house and ask for me,
Tell them please, "Our boy did not go."

Erotic Approach To Intercourse And Its Nature

Generally the Santal husband is the first to retire to bed. The wife follows him. Upto the birth of children, a *khatia* (a stringed bed-stead) accommodates the couple. The man places his hands on the breasts of the woman. The body meets the body. A good deal of dalliance is indulged in while the love is fresh and these include kissing the cheeks (not the lips), scratching, pressing the

St Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ea. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 hips, tickling the person and embraces. The husband may make his wife sit upon his lap, admire the knot of her hair, her face or breasts, and these endearments may continue for ten minutes to half-an-hour for new-weds.

These accessories to the sexual act almost cease with child-birth and coitus is indulged in as the first thing on bed, "for fear of children rising from their sleep and disturbing them" as one Santal put it. He added that these endearments follow the sexual intercourse of more aged couples, for, say half-an-hour, during which the wife, massages the body of the husband, which soothes the jaded nerves.

As preliminary to the actual intercourse, the cloth of the woman is removed by the man and he proposes coitus. Normally, the woman does not take the lead. Penetration takes place immediately and directly. The woman lies on her back, the man squats on his toes between her raised thighs before the female organ, and the legs of the girl are sometimes inter-laced on his back. His hands are sometimes placed on the girl's shoulders, sometimes on her breasts. The woman moves her head aside, "for the want of a pillow" as was explained. The thighs of the woman meet those of the man, while her hips are raised about half-a-cubit as the copulation proceeds. The pressure is given by the man,

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

the woman also shakes the loins when she experiences the thrill of coitus. 833 •

At this stage we may quote the folk-song (referred to already) in which a sister-in-law is explaining to her husband's younger brother, the posture how to effect coition: 833 833 539

A boy sings: Dèṛ dèṛ ko men hili ho
Cet' leka ko dèṛ koà ho.

Hili replies: Jaṅga talarre durup' kate,
Ètòm janga kòñ̃ye bulure,
Kòñ̃ye jaṅga ètòm bulure,
Dòhò kate koṛam toare capokate
Bai baite ḍaṇḍa babu ja hilaume.

The sense of the song may be thus rendered into English: —

Boy: "Coition, coition," men say, O sister-in-law!
How do they do it? How do they effect coition?

Reply: Sitting on the ground between the feet,
With right leg on the left thigh,
The left (leg) placed against the right (thigh),
Pressing the breasts on the chest,
Gently, gently shake thy waist.

This is the invariable posture adopted by the Santal during coition as the most suitable. Intercourse by lying side by side is seldom resorted to except by drunken people, too tired to adopt the 833

Sr Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 sitting position; and the process, lip to lip, breast to breast in "passion's golden purity" is not known to the Santal.

As regards the preliminaries to the final coition prevailing amongst the Santals, we have mentioned that they scratch, bite and kiss. But these are done, according to the Santal, so as not to inflict pain. We enquired whether they avoid kissing the lips owing to the foul smell coming out of mouths. But [515] we gathered that the Santals are very clean as to their dental hygiene; for, from their fifth year upwards they make it a point to brush their teeth with *neem* or *sal* tooth-sticks. So foul-mouth is not a factor. Moreover, the very position adopted in coitus does not permit of kissing the lips. The [533] folk-songs are silent as to such kisses to our knowledge.

831 The Santal discusses sexual matters including coition quite normally and naturally. During our investigations we found men, old, adult and young, answering our questions without any embarrassment and while talking about these things themselves, they evinced as much of detachment as if they were talking about the weather. But there are certain 831 exceptions. There are grades of relationship with 602 whom Santals cannot have sexual talks, *viz.* Marañ Baba (Father's elder brother), Mama (maternal uncle), father's and mother's sister. The permissible

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

grades include friends, sister's husband, grand-father and elder brother's wife. 83 [602]

From the above, it will be clear that sex and sin have not become interchangeable words to the Santal as we find in civilization. The refinements of sex, being the other name for perversions, are as much unknown to the Santal as cunning and craft. In coition, all that our enquiries revealed was that the various postures adopted by civilized societies are not known to them, as possible or natural. One educated Santal told us that he knew a case in which a man confessed that he cohabited with a girl during the rains, and as no other position was possible, they adopted the averse position of a goat. When the story was narrated, people laughed heartily. On our question as to what would be the effect of the story on women-listeners, he said that they also would have thought it funny, because it is so unnatural. 833 • 833 522

Although there was considerable discrepancy as to the number of times the Santals indulge in coitus, five times a day can be put as the maximum. But this is before the birth of children. When the parties get children, they cohabit once or twice a day and there may be gaps of a day. When three or four children are born three or four days may be omitted. But as stated before, on the average, they copulate twice daily, and the minimum may be 833

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 fixed at once a day, till they arrive at their sixtieth year. All these are considered nothing unusual and such intercourse is not considered as too frequent.

[841] As regards ritual continence, coitus is stopped during menstruation for a period of seven days or [843] so. During pregnancy, the Santal gives up sexual intercourse when the woman is about her fifth month and resumes it about the third month after child-birth.

838 So far as the prevalence and censure of sexual deviations are concerned, we gathered that homo-sexuality is almost unknown amongst the Santals.

839 Masturbation is sometimes indulged in by boys while tending cows in the fields, but not much of attention is paid to these, as such cases are rare. Bestiality and sodomy are hated as abhorrent to human nature. Should such cases occur, the guilty ones are fined and a formal purification ceremony takes place. A Ṭika Murmu offers pujas to Maraṅ Buru and parties previously outcasted are taken back to the tribal-fold after the penance.

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